1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

311 578 achieved by the relatively unlimited possibilities of *chinampa* agriculture.

729 The Tenochcas supplemented their land hunger by another means. In conquered territories successful warriors 728 471 received grants of land which were worked by members of the defeated tribe. Small colonies sometimes lived off this [428] land to guard against revolt in the subjugated area. Such property passed from father to son, but if there were no heir it reverted to the tribal authority, not the clan in which the tenant had membership. Other such land must have been held for the benefit of the religious organization. Thus the central authority of Tenochtitlan, and presumably Texcoco as well, held considerable property to support the elaborate pomp of Church and State without straining the resources of the tribesmen. The relative fluidity of such real estate gave the tribal authority a wherewithal to adjust inequalities and dissatisfactions among the more ambitious tribal members. Naturally, as the Aztec peoples were less highly developed socially than ourselves, they did not attain our own elaborate system of rewards and adjustments by means of federal, state and municipal appointments.[8]

651 A powerful Aztec tribe had another source of support: tribute. The levies often consisted of foodstuffs and raw materials, both native and foreign to the Valley, and also included warriors' and priests' costumes, mantles, pottery and other articles of craftsmanship. Distributed throughout the community these goods enriched both communal enterprise and private convenience.[9] (See Plates 62, bottom right; 64.)

436 Manufacture and trade were beginning to play an im- 438 portant part in Aztec economy, although not to the extent 32 of societies which have developed media of exchange, like

And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4] And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were decked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in ixquich tlacatl in çaçan tiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tlilticc yn jncuechin, muchi tenjzo, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocociolnacoch: auh in cocociolnacoche: auh yn jntenpilol, quinamictia, cequj aujtlatzli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlaxantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocoleque, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcauan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh yn quaquachicti quinamictia, iehoatl in totoztenpilolli: auh yn otomj quinamictiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mocecenmati, in tiacaoan, quimococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipaoac: auh in ça tlatzactija in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin quimococujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquaoac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoeque, quauhtzontli in quimamaia, ezcan yietiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaquimilolli: auh in itzintlã ezcan in chichilicpatica tlacujxtli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin uztaxelli, in cequjntin quatotoztl in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçaeoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacaxotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, ihjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanextomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilzotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, *latoques* meriones copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 144) hält *davon Perlenhalsband* for *yeuimaxchapac*.

and finally all the people of the uplands and those of the swamp lands."[4]

And Moctezuma said to them: "You have tired yourselves; you have suffered affliction, O men dexterous in war. Rest yourselves." [But] perhaps you only fool me. Let me still behold the truth of your account."

And then he confined them. If the report which they had made were not true, Moctezuma jailed them and did away with them

And there in battle was when captives were taken. When it had come to pass that they went against and conquered the city, then the captives were counted, there, in wooden cages: how many had been taken by Tenochtitlan, how many had been taken by Tlatilulco, and by the people of the swamp lands and the people of the dry lands everywhere. The captives were examined [to determine] how many groups of four hundred were formed.

Those who counted were the generals and the commanding generals. And then they sent messengers here to Mexico. Those who were sent as messengers were seasoned warriors, who informed Moctezuma of the great veracity of the four-hundred count. They brought word of how many groups of four hundred had been made captive.

And then they declared to him how many of the noblemen had won their reward for having made captives; that haply a number [of them] had had their hair shorn as seasoned warriors, or that some [had been made] leaders of the youths. When Moctezuma heard this, he rejoiced exceedingly, because his noblemen had taken captives. And at that time he freed those whom he had cast in jail—the victory messengers—and he gave them gifts along with the others.

And if war should be proclaimed against Atlixco, or Uexotzinco, and if there once again they took captives, they won much glory thereby; Moctezuma accorded them great honor for it. For his noblemen had taken captives, and had gained repute, and had reached the station of nobility—the estate of the eagle and the ocelot warriors. From there they came to rule, to govern cities; and at that time they seated them with [the nobility], and they might eat with Moctezuma.

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Auh qujmjlhujaia in moteçuma, oanquiçisuhque, oanqujhijoujque in oçeloqujchtle: ximotlalican aço çan annechiztlacahuja, ma oc njcchia in jneltica tlatolli:

[687]

auh njman qujmoncaltzaqua intlacamo melaoac tlatolli oquicaquitique moteçuma quintlatlatia quinpopoloa.

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Auh in vmpa iauc in iquac otlamaloc, in ie ihuquj in oia in oompoliuh, altepetl, njman ic mocempoa in mamalti, in vncan oacaltitla quezquj oaxioac in tenochtitlā, quezquj oaxioac in tlatilulco, auh inic noujian cenchinanpanecatl, centlalhoacpanecatl, mocemjtta in mamalti quezqujtzontli omuchiuh.

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Jehoantin tlapoa in tlatlacochcalca, in tlatlacatecca: auh njman ic oallatitlanj, in njcan mexico, in oalmotitlanj iehoantin in tetequjoaque, in qujoalnonotza motecuçuma, in ie uel imelaoaca in jcentzontecca, in qujoalitquj tlatolli, in quezqujtzontli omochiuh malli:

auh in qujmelaujliaia in quezquintin otlacnopilhujque in pipilti in otlamaque, aço cequintin motequjoacaxima anoce cequintin telpuchiacati. Jn qujcaquja in motecuçuma cenca ic papaquja ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque: auh qujnjquac qujnquixtiaia, in qujncaltzaquaia in tequjpan titlanti qujmōtehoan motlatlauhtia.

[431]

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Auh intla oalmjtoz iaujotl in atlixco, aço vexotzinco, intla oc ceppa vmpa tlamazque, cenca ic vel panuetzi, ic cenca uel qujmmaujztilia in motecuçuma: ipampa ca ipilhoan in ontlamaque, in onmoteniotique in oconmjiaoaiotique in pillol in quauhiotl, in ocelotl, ic oncan in quiça in tlatocati, in qujpachoa altepetl, auh qujnjquac intlan qujntlalia: ytlan tlaqua in motecuçuma

4. *Chinampaneca*: Sahagún's comment on fol. 53 of Book X of the *Florentine Codex* is descriptive: "*y los de la tierra seca, que son los carreteros de las chinampas.*"

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[643]
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He gave them long, yellow labrets; or curved, yellow lip plugs; or long, blue labrets; or curved, blue lip plugs; or curved, green stone lip plugs; or green stone lip plugs; or lip shafts.[6] Then [he gave them] head bands with two quetzal feather tassels [intertwined] with flint knives [fashioned] of gold and with golden pendants; or head bands with two trupial feather tassels; and cured leather ear plugs; and costly capes—the one [known as] the lord's cape, with the obsidian serpent design; or the ashen gray one with red eyes on the border; or with earthen jars designed in feathers; or with the obsidian arrow step design; and costly breech clouts[6]—perhaps the breech clout with twisted ends, [or] with cotton at the ends—various kinds of costly breech clouts; and devices—perchance [the one with] the quetzal feather comb; or the golden banner; or the yellow Xolotl head; or the golden hood; or the golden conical cap; or the quetzal feather banner; or the obsidian butterfly with quetzal feathers and eyes of gold; and costly shields—perhaps [the one of] the skin [and feathers] of the blue cotinga; or of yellow parrot feathers—verily, all the costly shields. And he gave them stewardships: possibly in two places or in three he gave them [such offices]. For truly they had taken [captives].

643 And if the ruler should die, from these one was chosen to govern the city. And likewise from these, some were placed at the feet [of the judges] who pronounced judgments and meted out death sentences. [These were] the Tlacochcalcatl tecutli, or the Ticociauacatl tecutli, or the Cioacoatl tecutli, or the Tlillancalqui tecutli.[7]

in qujnmaca coztic teçacatl, anoço coztic tencololli, anoço xoxouhquj teçacatl, anoço xoxouhquj tencololli, anoço chalchiuhtencololli, anoço calchiuhtentetl, anoço tlanjtentetl: njman ic quetzallaipilonj teucujtlatica tecpaio, ioan teucujtlatl in jpepeiococ, anoço çaquan tialpilonj, ioan cuetlaxnacochtli, ioan tlaçotilmatli, iehoatl in tlatocatilmatli in jtzcoaio, anoço ixnextentlapallo, anoce iujticateteconaio, anoço itzmjxicalcoliuhquj, yoan tlaçomaxtlatl, anoçe tzicoliuhquj maxtlatl, aiacaichcaio, içaço quesqujch tlaçomaxtlatl, ioan tlaujztli, aço quetzalpatzactli, anoço teucujtlapanjtl, anoço tozquaxolotl, anoço teucujtlaquacalalatli, anoçe teucujtlacopilli, anoço quetzalpanjtl, anoçe itzpapalotl quetzallo teucujtlatl in ixtelolo, ioan tlaçochimalli, aço xiuhtotoiecatl, anoçe tozcoatl in ie uel izqujch tlaçotlanquj chimalli, ioan qujnmaca calpixcantli, aço ooccan, anoço eexcan in qujnmaca: ipampa ca nel ocaçique.

Auh intla mjqujz tlatoanj: iehoantin ceme anaioia, injc iehoantin qujpachoznqe altepetl. Auh çan no iehoantin, cequjntin ontlalilo tlacxitlan, in vncan tecutlatoa, in tlatzontequj, in qujtzõtecticate mjqujztli: tlacochcalcatl tecutli, anoço ticociaoacatl, tecutli, aço çioacoatl tecutli, anoço tlillancalquj tecutli.

5. *Tlaojoiaoatl*: Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has *daquinoaoad*.

6. After *yoan daquinoaoad*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has the following, omitted from the *Florentine Codex*: *quezcoxuaxtlad—Kokilhopi-achamhuade*, according to Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

7. A passage omitted from the *Florentine Codex* but included in the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, ending this chapter, has been placed in Appendix B.

577 And he who took no captive with others' help
578 when, perchance, he had returned three or four times
701 to the wars, they called "Big tuft of hair over the back of the head." And if this was said of him, he was much ashamed of it. Wherefore he cast himself [into the fray] in order to take a captive with others' aid.

729 And if he made a captive with the help of others,
577 then his head was pasted with feathers. And he who then did not take a captive with the aid of others might not remove his lock of hair; neither was his head pasted with feathers. Thus was his hair shorn: it was cut like a ring-shaped carrying pad; they shaved only the crown of his head.

And [whether] worldly goods and riches were his lot, or he was only poor, yet if his back tuft of hair had been removed, he never took, and never did they
[292] place upon him, an embroidered cape, [but] only another small, white, maguey fiber cape, and his small breech clout.

And he who had acted indeed alone and had taken captives, if he took one, was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma, there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained
[302 with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red
336] ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.[1]

And at that time Moctezuma granted him favors;
[431 he gave him an orange cape with a striped border
242] and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors.[2] And then he began to wear capes with designs.

And when he had taken two, likewise they took him there before Moctezuma, at the palace, and likewise his gifts were provided as hath been told.

624 And when he captured three, likewise his gifts
729 were provided, and he took [the office] of, and they
861 established him as, a master of the youths, a leading
561 youth. He entered a place of dignity, the young men's house, there to nurture and rear [them]. There he reared the young men, there where there was song and dance at night, there in the song house.

Auh in aquin amo tepallama in aço ic espa anoço ic nappa yloti in inoc quitocaiotia cuespalchicacpul auh in iuh ipan mitoa y ic pinaoa, quin iconac teca momotla inic tepallama.

Auh intla tepal otlama iconac mopotonia, auh in aquin çan niman amo tepallama, amo uel mocuespallaça amono mopotonia, inic maxima moquaiaoalxima çaniio inicoa nepantla quichichiqui.

Auh im aço ie imaceoalti in tlalticpacaiotl, in necuiltonolli, auh anoço can motolinia auh inomocuespallaz aic tle quicui, aic tle itech quitlalia tlamacho tilmatli çan oc ce in iztac in ichtilmaton iztac in imastlaton,

auh i aquin uel oquimiscaui otlama in oce cacic ic motocaiotia telpochtiaqui tlamani. Auh in iquac y quinicoac ispan quiuica in motecoçoma in umpa tlatocăn. Auh itencopa inic motecuçauhtiltia mistlapalhoatzalhuia quicemaqtia in izaiac, auh in icatiaoacan quitecuzauhuia in icalpiscaboan motecuçoma.

Auh quinicoac quitlauhtia in motecuçoma in quimaca camopaltenoaoanqui ioan centetl cototlalpilli ioan centetl nochpalmastlatl iacauiac ioan centetl centzonmastlatl tlatlapalli, auh iconac compeoaltia in tlacuilolxilmatli quiquetzi.

Auh inic ome caci çan no vmpa quiuica in ispan motecuçoma in tlatocan auh çan no iuhquj in inetlauhtil mochioua in omito.

Auh inic ei caci çan ie no iuhqui in inetlauhtil mochioa, auh oncan canaia in quitiachcauhtecaia in telpochtiaqui quicalaquiaia inuchican in telpochcali inic vmpa tlacaoapaoa tlacazcaltia vmpa quimizcaltia in telpopochti, on cuicoianeoaia in icaltica in vmpa cuicacali.

1. Following *quitecuzauhuia*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *yoan ompa quimpotonija* and *quen they pasted feathers on their heads*. This passage is missing in the *Florentine Codex*.

2. The corresponding Spanish text reads: *"vna manta con unas listas labradas de color morado: y otra manta labrada, de otras diuersas labores de colorado que se llamaua cohuitzpalli: y . . . vn mantle labrado de colorado, largo que estuuiesse hasta colgado, y otro mantle labrado de todas colores."*

priests tribute receivers. But there are still some other very important complementary data: on one hand that "painters, whom they called tlaculoca (sic: tlaculoque), were exempted from contributions and from some services... also the singers... and the players of instruments... neither did the instructors contribute..." (27). On the other

27. Fuenleal, p. 249.

hand we know that all who contributed were called macehuales (28)

28. Fuenleal, p. 249.

and that the relatives of rulers and some lords did not contribute (29),

29. Oviedo, III, p. 535.

from which we can infer that the musicians, singers, instructors, etc. who did not contribute, were people from among the rulers and lords, and not from the macehuales; although such a conclusion is not absolutely necessary or compelling.

There are, nevertheless, within the scheme of the tributary macehuales and the tribute-exacting lords some exceptions: those who distinguished themselves in war were exempted from taxation (30),

30. Fuenleal, p. 249.

which obliges us to think that they were macehuales who enjoyed a privilege which the other macehuales did not have. Certainly these macehuales were the ones who were made nobles by favor (31) and

31. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

about whom there are no data to indicate that they received tribute, that is that they were "nobles," lords by inheritance, nor could they have "tenants" [*"terrasgueros"*] (32), that is, could live from tribute,

32. Torquemada, II, p. 546.

and /p. 28/ who for that reason, like the common macehuales, personally worked their lands: their distinctive character was simply that

423 and apparently not "for life," that is, the members of one calpulli did not really pass to another calpulli. (In part this does not happen either in the calpullis studied by Redfield in 1920 (23), thus suggest-

23. Redfield, 1920, p. 288.

ing that the calpulli was a property-holding group rather than a ward). In any case we must assert that in general the majority of the people must have had land in their calpullis and that possibly the leaving for other calpullis was an exception. (We could also think that among the Tenochcas the same happened as among the Maoris, where it was possible /p. 40/ for a person from one group to pass to another, in which he was adopted (24). Thus it appears that the

24. Goldenweisser, 1922, p. 382. Mishkin, N. 1937, p. 429.

calpulli was a true proprietary group, the use of the land being proof of its ownership. These were the lands pointed in yellow, their existence clearly recognized.

There was, besides the land given to the common macehuales of the calpulli of which we have just talked, a mode of distribution of the calpullis' lands which was of fundamental importance: the land ●729 given to those courageous in battle [henceforth "valiants"]. These lands were given by favor for heroic deeds in war (25). But they

25. Torquemada, II, p. 545, 546; Vetancourt, I, p. 273.

were lands, and this is the fundamental thing, used for sustenance and where one could not have tenants (26); that is, they were lands

26. Torquemada, H. [sic. 1]7 p. 545. Zurita (p. 116) tells us that the tenants pay rent "To the master of these," a statement which does not appear to refer to macehuales or even to the nobles, that is to say not contradicting the former affirmation of Torquemada.

which they worked and which yielded them fruits, but which did not